Translated from Romanian

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YES! I AM A REACTIONARY!

National Awakening upon Mihai Eminescu

(Mihai Eminescu's reply to the accusation of reactionarism –
as well as and, at the same time,
THAT HALF OF THE SAME BEING of Eminescu's political testament)

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However, the experience has proved that the introduction of content-deprived forms is far from representing an accurate compensation of the sacrifices required for [their] creation, that the people sink into poverty by work waste, totally disproportioned compared to the benefits that could be get from such innovations.(;)

It would be finally needed, to perform a heroic attack to the causes producing the decadence and diminution of populations; it would be necessary that the general interest will not seem to us as a futile action or an unachievable utopian idea.

The advanced forms of a hasty civilisation, stuck like exotic plants in our ground, would have probably been inappropriate for us, but gradually and patiently our culture will adapt itself and, from a cosmopolite culture, will become a national one.

Mihai Eminescu,
Formă şi fond (Form and Content), 11 decembrie (December 11th) 1888, Fântâna Blanduziei (Blanduzia's Fountain), in Mihai Eminescu, *Opere*, vol. XIII, Critical edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1985, pg. 331, 332

WHO IS *MIHAI EMINESCU*

Who is Mihai Eminescu?

„The contempt for government‘s *usurpation* by those few people who didn't even developed by their own intelligence, culture and work".

Who is Mihai Eminescu?

„*The reverence for those* times of *honesty*, resoluteness and measure".

Who is Mihai Eminescu?

„*The affirmation of the eternal Romanian unity*, the horror of the foreign invasion that kills a conscience, hinders development, ruins the future, and doesn't pay any attention to the past, in order to replace all above with plunder and corruption, whatever the invader's name would be, the first one among the cultured nations or the last Asian plebs".

Nicolae Iorga

Three excerpts from the speech held on October 16th, 1911, in Galați, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Mihai Eminescu statue

You can find the whole text of his speech in: Nicolae Iorga, *Eminescu*, Edition elaborated, including introductory study, notes and references by Nicolae Iliu, *Junimea* Publishing House, Iaşi, 1981, pg. 112, 113

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For Thou Alone Art Lord, Thou Alone Art without Sin

In my opinion, I am neither anti-Semite, nor philosemit; neither xenophobe, nor xenophile; neither chauvinist, nor renegade.

As the apostles, I confess that « Lord, Thou alone art without sin » and I feel an invincible repugnance, both at praising up to the sky, and anathematizing.

And this, especially when speaking about personalities and historical events related to which I am fully aware about my imperfect knowledge.

I resolutely believe in the sublime part of the soul in each of us and in the holiness of the human duty of seeking the Truth for oneself – being one and the same with God. This faith is the first and the last thought that stimulated me to draw up this moral restitution.

Of course, whatever searches undertaken beyond the thin layer of the political and historical taboos, show to their privileged author the view of hidden spiritual icons. Icons imprinted, under circumstances like the present

one, also by the contact with extremely sensitive aspects.

Thus, it goes without saying: the pertinence of whatever cognitive effort in this field is subject to the integration of the respective aspects in the investigative approach. Of course, honestly and decently, without passion and without the slightest preconceived idea.

This is exactly what I was striving to do, with all my powers, it is at stake to find in this work some quoted passages that are far from being comfortable.

Ame n.

If our tendencies and ideas could be called reactionary, an epithet used by our opponents to gratify us, we admit such reaction only in the sense given to it by the physiology, namely the reaction of a body capable to become healthy again, against the harmful influences of the foreign elements introduced into it.

Mihai Eminescu, *Esprimată în termenii cei mai generali…(Expressed in most general terms ...)*, Timpul, August 17th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, Critical Edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy (Editura *Academiei)*, Bucharest, 1989 pg. 315

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This country cannot go on with such organisation favouring the usurped reputations, unless it assumes the danger of ceasing to be a *Romanian* country*.*

A reaction, as trying to achieve a historical reconstruction prior to the Phanariote epoch, is no more possible in Romania and we are not utopians to

ask for something that wouldn’t even be possible for God in Heaven.

In this country **it is enough, if the development of the talent and of the work is assured; this is sufficient, and just for this, a social reorganisation is required**.

“Reaction! Reaction! Here you are the magic words that must destroy us in the eyes of the country; here you are the for ever and ever renewed accusation”[1].

„We hereby state, and with our full conviction, that we are *Liberals* in the full meaning of this word and in its full truth.

We love and support all the freedoms provided for in our Constitution; far from us to intend to subvert them,

[1] Mihai Eminescu, *Organele de publicitate*…, *(The publicity bodies…)* Timpul, December 30th, 1878, in Opere, vol. X, Critical edition founded by Perpessicius, Editura Academiei Române (Publishing House of the Romanian Academy), Bucharest, 1989, pg. 162

on the contrary we would defend them against those who would want to cause damage to them"[2].

„What we do not wish(;) are(;) the despotism and the oppression through masses, the radicalism and demagogy.

It is about taking the incapability as a title of excellence, the stupidity and the lack of knowledge patented as titles of recommendation.

What we are fighting against is(;) encompassing the mutual duties of the state powers, as provided for by the Constitution[3]"[4].

„If those proclaiming their *liberalism* have principles that are more liberal than these ones, under such circumstances we acknowledge that we are backward, but at the same time we confess that, as

[2] Ibid.

[3] Illustration: „On the occasion of setting the budget for the year 1877, the Chamber took the initiative of achieving it, without being entitled to, since this is the minister's right; he is entitled to draw it up(;) and to submit it to the Chamber(;). If in the budget would be found fictive figures and intentional errors, who is responsible? The Chamber?"(ibid., *Tot în numărul nostru de la 20 decembrie ....(Also in our issue of December 20th …)*), Timpul, January 18th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 174) „Nobody could sue and bring it before the court"., ibid.
„What about the Ministry? It hides behind the Chamber and thus the good faith in state's expenditure remains an illusion"., ibid.
„And all of these are covered by the phrase that there is understanding between the government and the Chamber. And then, we beg their pardon: there is a huge difference between understanding and complicity. When committing a crime, all involved are parties but, this cannot be called a honest understanding"., ibid.

[4] Ibid., *Organele de publicitate…(The publishing bodies ...)*, Timpul, December 30th, 1878, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 162

soon as trials will be made for stepping over the limits of the freedoms and constitutional institutions, we'll become reactionary, in the true and blessing meaning of this word"[5].

„What is called reaction in other countries, is so far away from us, also due to the lack of the elements of a reaction – unfortunately (;)"[6]: „a hereditary and historical aristocracy[7], rich and powerful by burgomaster offices

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[5] Ibid., pg. 163

[6] ibid, *Nu ştim de unde şi până unde…(We don't know from where and until when ...),* Timpul, January 5th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 165

[7] „The, *sine qua non,* main condition of the reaction in the occidental meaning of the word is the historical freeholder dynasty, the historical freeholder aristocracy, respectively. It is true, and it will be too daring to deny that there are some few descendents from historical families of this country, but is it the simple fact of the origin that constitutes the aristocracy as the historical class of this country?"., ibid., *Se închină omul totdauna şi-n tot locul?…(Does the man always and everywhere submit ...)*, Timpul, November 29th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 357

„For a reaction, in the true sense of the meaning to exist, an uninterrupted tradition should have existed within the reactionary class, it would be necessary that such a class has been constituted in its own way. It would have been necessary that its material power, the property, would be inalienable, and in a word, the permanent *right* of possession would have been necessary. But, nobody had such a right, even in the remotest past. Every Romanian, either born from influential parents, or from poor parents, could rise, either by the arm power, or by the mind power, to the highest dignities of the state and it was the same, under the earthly reigns, if the merit was held by a man of the people or by a boyar; in that money-poor times the only compensation the state could give and which was given, it was a rank that couldn't be assigned to one's sons, but which protected the respective rank holder from different life charges, imposing to him, in turn, rather difficult duties, obligations exposing one's life and wealth.

(Romanian, maiorate), namely by the right of succession of the first-born child; such a historical dynasty, coming from that aristocracy and, in a way, being identified with; and, last but not least, hereditary political prerogatives, for instance, a Senate including only or almost [only] privileged individuals. Such a privileged class should either fight or, for maintaining its rights towards the usurpation tendencies both from the side of the other classes, or from the side of the Crown (from the side of the Head of State, our note), or it should strive for regaining the lost prerogatives.

We ask for permission to say that all such premises (;) do not exist in our country.

The privileged class in the past had become a kind of aristocracy on duty, rather than by birth, to say nothing about heredity. It is understood that there were influential and rich families maintaining a sort of *de-facto* heredity of the family prerogatives, but such heredity did not exist *de jure*(;).

But, it will be said that, in fact, both social position and wealth have been inherited. However, the reality of the assignment should not be confused with the formal right of assignment of the feudal world of the West, since, if we deprive the fact from its essence, the right, itself remains so indifferent as the fact that a present-day banker had a banker-ancestor. Can one conclude there from the grandson's exclusive right to be a banker? This would be an absurdity.

So(;), from the history it results that the Romanians have always been [under the earthly reigns] free and equal before the state. For each of them there is a possibility to climb up the social ladder and the peasant could become a famous magistrate, as well as, vice versa, the magistrate's descendants could become again, lack of merits, simple peasants"., ibid.

The cause for which the boyars in our countries have never reached the strict and resolute form of the institution, like in other countries, was the everlasting disorder of the things in this country, the never-ending reign changes, taking place as a result of Polish, Hungarian and Turkish influences, because all these three big neighbour powers were trying to absorb our country on their account, while this one was trying to face their tendencies by electing a Ruler, as pleasant as possible to the neighbour country, which was more powerful at that time.

We do not contest that such a policy was proving our weakness but, good or bad as it was, it succeeded to preserve the country from the worst thing, namely falling into foreign hands, and likewise, such a policy was the cause of the internal disorder, the cause for which no durable core of a national aristocracy was crystallised from the tumult of the historical life, which could have the will and power to resist to all immature

and costly trials for occidental renewal and smattering[8]"[9].

„If a Romanian aristocracy, founded on a certain public right has existed *de facto*, it has ceased to exist in 1700, at the same time with the fall of the national reign. We neither recognise, nor can recognise to the Phanariote epoch the sovereign right of granting titles

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[8] That is why, „it was needed (that is why it came about, our note) to abolish all the limits the classes of old Romania had imposed: either spiritual castes, or economic corporate bodies, or last but not least, real estate property; for the purpose of differentiating the people between them, all such *national prejudices* from the Middle Ages, ought to be replaced by the measure of *cosmopolite* money; finally it was necessary that the ideas of the great French Revolution would have been fully introduced in our country and into our social organisation, so that, by virtue of those principles we, the big and small demagogues, have admitted and applauded, to come about to see organic laws being adopted for our own country; and it had to use force to impose to us, through international treaties, things that not even(;) Baiazid Ilderim, conqueror of the Christianity had ordered to us; it ought to make from the free-thinking a publicly shown cult, defended by the government and its bodies in opposition with a Church reigning since thousand years over our land; it ought to consider(;) the following, as the last consequence of the decomposition of the public spirit: the Americanism, the theory of man and man without any difference of race, language origin, the rational state of poverty and personal ambitions in place of a national and natural state, in place of the national society, arisen on historical bases, in place of the Romanic language and of the Thracian-Latin origin, ibid., *Trei zile de-a rândul…, (Three successive days…)* Timpul, February 20th, 1880, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 191

A rational state about which I give just one example: „Art[icle] 44 of the Berlin Treaty was recorded by the peace instrument "(ibid., *Deosebirea între aceste două declarații… (Difference between these two statements…)*, Timpul, March 1st, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 202),

and dignities, as we would not had recognised this to the Turks, whose representatives in the country were the Phanariots. In this way, is being explained the quick fall of the political prerogatives during this century, because such prerogatives must arise from a determined public right, and this public right died in 1700 and its exercise from the side of the foreigners

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although „Europe knows the whole matter of the Jews in Romania"., ibid.

Since „in this case the non-Christian religion and the foreign race are two things covering each other completely, in reality they are one and the same thing"(ibid. *Ieri şi alaltăieri Camera…, (Yesterday and the day before yesterday The Chamber ...)* Timpul, February 27th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 199), and that race having a urge tendency to take hold of the unmovable property of the Romanian citizen, and through this to take hold of his state, his country, respectively"., ibid.

And having it already, which should be kept in mind!, circumstances under which „wherever in Europe the emancipated Jews, intervening in the culture of this country, have falsified and corrupted it"(ibid., V*echea imputare… (The Old Imputation...)*, Timpul, June 19th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 272); terms under which „they represent here, that unmeasured, totally unproductive population living from the speculation of the work and health of the Romanian people"(ibid., *De când naţia…, (Since the nation…)* Timpul, June 24th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 278); terms under which „the Jews, being a middle class and the liberal legislation being exclusively in favour of this class, they will become here the privileged masters and the Romanian will be the Jew's servant".(ibid., *Vechea imputare…(The old imputation…)*, Timpul, June 19th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 272) And, last but not least, under such circumstances we „see them entering into alliances with foreign people all over the world, against the country they are living in, and against the people due to which they continue to subsist"., ibid. *Ne e silă…(We are disgusted at…)*, Timpul, August 1st, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 307

„Hidden invasion of (;) the Jews in our country and, like after a secret order, the solidarity between them and the Jews all over the world proved by the [Universal Israeli]

was being considered as a corrupt usurpation up to its core of illegitimacy”[10].

„Nowadays(;) there is neither a boyar class, nor boyars, anymore. As one cannot speak about monotheists without God, about schools without teachers and without pupils, one cannot speak about boyars without

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Alliance, *the appeal to the foreigners* made by the pretended native Jews, the economical dangers (;)”…, ibid., *În şedinţa de ieri a Camerei…(During the yesterday's session of the Chamber...)*, Timpul, October 4th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 325

„The dilemma is still the same, that those who have made appeal to foreigners, for rights are either native, as they pretend to be, or foreigners. If they are natives, they are traitors who must be treated as people conspiring against the Romanian state, if they are foreigners, would we still deliberate if we should admit or reject them”, ibid.

Because: „To request the diplomatic or armed intervention of the foreigners against the country one is living in, is an act of serious betrayal committed against that country.

The Alliance requests for intervention, by any means.

Thousands of Jews in the country are members of the Alliance.

So, thousands of Jews in the country are traitors.

In Russia such people will be sent to Siberia, in France they will be deported, in other places they will be imprisoned; but, in our country they enjoy total freedom, they call us names in the Jewish press and we let them behave as they like and wish”., ibid., *Ne e silă… (We are disgusted at...)*, Timpul, August 1st, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 305, 306

„Previously protected by the consular jurisdiction(;), the Jews enjoyed a lot of rights for many years without having no other duty(;) than the payment of an insignificant contribution amounting to some thousands of old Lei, distributed in accordance with the free will of their religious communities. But, such privileged position

the boyars' military-aristocratic institution, as well. With its raison d'être, it should disappear[11]"[12].

The foreigners „were not Romanians"[13]. „Their heart of aliens, without determined traditions, without determined country, without determined nationality, could not abide those century-old oak trees, those big boyars, pillars of the country, as they were called, stable

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protected against all the duties, hard enough for the old classes of the Romanian society, since it was about duties to be paid *in kind*, and then the exclusivity spirit of the Jewish race, as such, making abstraction of its religious rituals that was always totally free in our country, the characteristic lack of interest of the Jews for everything representing our national life, their own feeling that they are a foreign race, the scornful names they assign, in their vulgar language, to Christians, in general and to the Romanians, in particular, all these and much other things made that they have remained a peculiar people, having no interest in sharing our national views. Accepted in our schools in a totally equal manner as the Romanians, awarded prizes and honoured for their endeavours in school, just those who have acquired knowledge from us, in schools that have not been maintained from their contributions, but from the income of the Christian conventual goods, just the pupils from our schools are the most severe enemies of the Romanian nation, just them belong to the Israeli Alliance, which does not scruple to moot the question of the existence of a historically created state, lasting from hundreds of years, unless equal right will be granted to a minority of very recent immigrants.

And this whole movement is based on the theory entirely untrue that there are *Israelite-Romanians*, Romanians of Mosaique confession.

But, do these «Romanians» speak *Romanian* within their families? No"., ibid. *Dacă proiectul maiorităţii… (If the project of the majority…)*, Timpul, July 7th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 291

„There are no Romanian of Israelite religion, since there are no Israelites who speak Romanian within their families, since do not exist (with extremely rare exceptions, our

in front of the tempest, in spite of all the storms of the times, bending sometimes under the blows given by the merciless God, always invincible! This is the Phanariots' history, whose mission was to uproot and corrupt the boyars"[14].

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note) Israelites who enter into a marriage relationship with Romanians, in other words since the Jew is a Jew, he or she feels being a Jew and so far he or she has wished to be just a Jew, and nothing else"., ibid. pg. 291, 292

„Such a thing, this lack of solidarity of the Jews with the peoples in the middle of which they use to live, went so far that the same Jew(s) being suppliers to the Russian Imperial Army, were, on the other hand, weapon suppliers to the Turks, although those weapons were designed just to be discharged over the Russians, namely over the compatriots of those Jewish suppliers.

By the way, we mention hereby that, during the entry of the Russian army in our country, the Jews living in our country have driven out the nails from the rails for putting in danger the life of the Russian soldiers who were finding themselves in the trains, being well known that such crimes could discharge over the country they were living in"., ibid., *Ziarele guvernului…(Government's newspapers…)*, Timpul, July 22nd, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 305

„Would their number be insignificant or, even being big, will it be assimilable, under such circumstances, would the matter not be serious. But to accept among us a foreign nation, which feels foreign and which, by its organisation constitutes a state within a state, would mean to become victims of a mystification, of an ethnologic lie. We understand very well [that] Art. 7 was an absolute obstacle, stopping even the naturalisation of the Jews having a strong will of becoming Romanian citizens, we also understand that an absolute obstacle, not allowing any concession, must be removed, with or without the Art. 44, but we do not understand to declare, at once as Romanian or assimilable a mass of people that outside

„In order that people would have preserved its power of reaction against the epoch of turpitudes it would have been good not to have a Phanariote epoch(;) [15], (;)which(;) have cared about rooting out the feeling for the national dignity. During those times was prepared the today's public spirit"[16].

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pretend to be Romanians, but inside keep cultivating a barbarian dialect, not speaking Romanian within their families, considering a Christian and a Romanian as an enemy who should be exploited and nothing more"., ibid., *Proiectul maiorității… (The majority project……)*, Timpul, July 7th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 292

„The powers may send a commission to go from town to town for becoming convinced that there is no Israelite-Romanian at all, with some very rare exceptions, we could specify separately, ibid.

„The restrictive laws in force until ten-fifteen years ago in almost all most civilised countries are clear proofs that the Jews were everywhere deemed inassimilable foreigners tolerated indeed, but just tolerated. The admission of the Jews to the Prussian citizenship before 1869 was very strictly limited and in spite of all these, this admission was not absolute: the Jews remained however excluded from positions requiring public trust"., ibid.

„A proof about the accuracy with which the diplomacy is informed about our social and economical status, was given to us a few years ago by the report submitted by the chevalier de Bosizio. So, it was almost incredible that the same persons, who see so clearly the current matters, will become the victim of a mystification in the matter of the Jews. We didn't believe this, from the very beginning; so, from the beginning, we have asserted that the European diplomacy knows perfectly well the statements of facts in our country, that it cannot believe the legends fabricated by the Alliance about *religious* persecutions, that a whole world cannot be misled by the Jewish and semi-Jewish press of the European centres"., ibid., *«Fremdenblatt», officious newspaper…*, Timpul, July 10th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 295

„Poor Tudor and the honest reigns of big boyars following after him, the reaction against the Phanariots have lasted only 30-40 years, a too short time for enabling to straighten out a country whose heart was rotten, by the so-called paternal protection and by budgets with very tighten purse strings. The Phanar in our country should be reborn more powerfully in the off-

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„Hence, it was easy to presume that the entire *humanitarian-religious* matter the governmental press is dealing with so ...intelligently, was a nonsense invented by the Israelite Alliance and that, in fact, the things correspond to concrete material interests ”., ibid.

„All Jewish newspapers from the four corners of the earth, with the characteristic and traditional insolence of their wandering nation, have thrown on us the whole dirt of their impudent feathers”., ibid. *Trebuie să aibă cineva…(Somebody must have ....)*, Timpul, July 4th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 287

„Would the matter had limited to this, would just the Mamona’s sectarian had spit upon us, we would have had nothing to say, we would have let the matter pass unnoticed. Nobody can deny that, between us and the Jews there is a race difference, not allowing us to have toward them just contempt and only contempt, in honour circumstances. *Noblesse oblige*. No matter how miserable we would be throughout historical circumstances of different natures, we are a people which have known and will know, whenever needed, to pay, even in excess its debt of blood, we a nation of people stuck, by traditions, habits and language, to a patch of land, that, with undisputed titles, we can call our country. Therefore, between us and a kind of people spread on the whole surface of the Earth, whose country are the market places where the interest is higher, where the unrestrained speculation meets less obstacles, where the word honour has less meaning; between us and this cosmopolite race, which in Vienna is Viennese, in Paris is Parisian, in Venice, Venetian and here, there and everywhere is Jewish; between a nation earning on its land in order or live, defending it whenever necessary, with its blood and a

springs remained in the ground of our country(;). Our ancestors have eaten a sour grape and our teeth are set on edge"[17].

„The Danube America (;) is still, ironically called Romania"[18].

„A few francs and some torches distributed to the town hall will produce, at any time the sympathies required for a government(;) and will shut the malcontents'

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corporation deprived of the last feeling of male dignity, living on the whole Earth just for winning, whose members, like birds of prey flights follow the belligerent armies for amassing wealth from the blood swamps; to say it very clearly – between us – and this honourable corporation, a matter of honour cannot exist until the end of time, and thus, we would have nothing to say in respect of the insolence of the Jewish press if this would not have found an echo and channel to us, even in the columns of the ministerial journal"., ibid., page. 287, 288

„So, we, Romanians agree with the theory(;) that the Jews are a people, indeed, even acknowledge that they are the most remarkable people – from several points of view – likewise, that they are the God's chosen people; but, once such theories admitted, *ad majorem Dei gloriam* it will be allowed to us, under such circumstances, not to regard them as Romanians and to reject them net rights they are not entitled to in *this* country, but *only* the Romanians are, and which rights were allowed, with much imprudence, to the foreign Christians, too"., ibid., *De când a început…(Since it began ...)*, Timpul, July 14th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 297

„To make fun of the Berlin Treaty! But, who is making fun of it? Did we violate or are we violating the Treaty by infringing art. 44 *tale quale*? The Treaty is somewhere providing for that that disposition is absolutely mandatory for us, as it was for Turkey, is it a duty imposed to us no matter the circumstance? No, it isn't.

The treaty stipulates: *I am free, Europe, to acknowledge or not your independence; I acknowledge it if you admit Art. 44, I do not acknowledge it, if you do not admit.*

mouth"[19]. Since, the toiling: „the whole state organisation took care that he will not be able to live his life from day to day"[20].

„We think that we can give up (;) the venerable expanded and various calf skins of the culture and to be satisfied with the knowledge about the country and the

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Where(;) the absolute obligation to fulfil Art. 44 without any delay and as per government's proposal?

By not admitting Art.44, we remain in the position we had before the war, that is, nominal vassals of the Porte, just with the difference that the Porte itself did not imposed such a condition to us, at all and that it acknowledged our independence from the beginning, so that we would remain the vassals of a power that have left our vassality condition by two successive treaties, the one from San-Stefano and the other from Berlin.

So, our position would be a real independence, still not acknowledged by some of the Powers. All of this, without having violated the Berlin Treaty, since, not having received a benefit that is being granted to us under a required condition, nobody can affirm that we would have violated the treaty, leaving aside the circumstance that we not even *can* violate it, since, being neither drawn up, nor signed by us, it can include neither duties, nor rights incumbent on us.

So, such is the case, from a purely rational point of view and(;) there is no other danger unless our real independence to be acknowledged at once"., ibid. *Marea majoritate…(The great majority..)*, Timpul, June 27th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 281, 282

„It is almost needles to add that the independence is a fact that exists no matter if acknowledged or not. In other times, the independence and the recognition of the legitimate royalty was depending on Pope's acknowledgement; this did not hinder the non-Catholic princes to exist, as such, and to truly be independent without special blessing of His Sanctity"., ibid., pg. 282

Moreover, „The European Powers themselves have recognised that the pretensions of the Jews in Romania are

people and especially with that quality distinguishing the statesman from the pretentious and the beau: the integrity and the character energy”[21].

„A clear mind and honest heart pay in the life of a people more than one thousand of oratorical phrases(;)[22]”[23].

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unjustified. Austria and Russia have already concluded treaties with Romania, in this respect, those which will not conclude such treaties *in the same manner* might spare us their love”.(ibid., *Timpul reproduce…(Time reproduces...)*, Curierul de Iaşi, December 5th, 1876, in Opere, vol. IX, Critical Edition founded by Perpessicius, Ed. cit., 1980, pg. 281)

„For the Romanians, the equal entitlement of 600,000 leeches and petty traders is(;) a matter of death and life, and, I think that our people would prefer a quick death, by sword to a slow death, by *vitriol*.

We concede that among these 600,000 individuals, there will be one per cent capable of producing something by oneself and caring for the country and the people, but when in the country there are 700,000 productive workers, namely the peasants, we cannot admit beside these ones to find 600,000 speculators of the products, so that each Jew lives by speculating the work of a *single* Romanian peasant. Their civil and public rights mean just the right to oppress our people, as they like it. Let 99 per cent of them leave for America, in order to earn there, by productive work their daily bread and afterwards, with the remaining ones we will get along very well, but until then let another seven alliances, like the universal one, conspire *behind closed doors* against the Romanian nation; we’ll always know to show them their place, because we are not frightened neither by the abusive language of the Jewish press, nor by the declamations of the idealist public speakers, when it comes to the existence of our people. If they wish to conquer us, they could do this …plainly, as all other nations do arms in their hands. But with such tricks and behaviours it will not work, for the time being. From the point of view of the number of Jews in our country, they remain *aliens of non-Christian rite,* who can neither

„Mircea I reigned 1387-1419, thirty two years, respectively”[24].

„The miracle consists just of the fact that, in times where there were clashes everywhere in Europe, we were so lucky to have at the same time, once in Walachia, a Prince called Mircea, and then in Moldavia the Prince Stephen the Great (Romanian, Ştefan cel

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blend with our people, nor pretend more than being tolerated, and we are very sorry that they do not have any reason to complain about our tolerance. If they long for having equal rights, according to the «social agreement», behold, Austria is close by, then Germany, England, France, Italy, who stops them to leave by train wherever they wish, to enjoy all possible rights?

We can say with good reason and firmly: that the Jews' position, in countries were they do not enjoy equality is much better than there where they enjoy it; that is why Russia is crowded with them, that is why they have overwhelmed us. Wherever there is a place to speculation in the black, the Jew is at home, and the lamentations and complaints against persecution are fiddlesticks to cover beforehand the inhumane manner in which they suck the countries where they have fallen upon like migratory locusts.

At the same time there are also Jews, deserving an equal entitlement – who could dispute it? But we are not Sabaot who wanted, by *one* right, to save Sodom, we cannot, for the limited number of Jews useful to the country, to grant full rights to the hundreds of thousands of unproductive aliens, who ultimately live by speculating the work, even the life of our people"., ibid.

„The Jews are a people gaining all their rights without sacrifices and work. For any people, both public and private rights were the result of a century-old work and significant sacrifices. If an aristocracy existed, having special prerogatives, such prerogatives were the compensation for the warriors' work; if the peasants, who everywhere have been enslaved, have finally succeeded to see themselves masters of their pieces of land, this was in

Mare). The latter was Mircea's adopted son; he had spent his childhood in Curtea de Argeş and Târgovişte, and had the same tendency to unite Christians against the Half-moon; in short, he had a higher idea of his individuality"[25].

„Particularly, the documents of Vlad Dracul and Vlad Ţepeş include the appointment of a lot of boyars,

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a way their reward for having carried by themselves the burden of the institutions, during ancient times; if the clerical part enjoyed prerogatives, likewise, it has fulfilled a cultural task, which, given the circumstances of the Middle Ages, a class of rationalists could not perform.

The clergy has driven out the new peoples of Europe from the nets of certain faiths and habits in which the physical power played the primary role, since it is proven that both the Germans' and the Celts and Slaves' supreme God was a God of War, of bloodsheds, a God of the brute force. The gradual taming of the new world is an undeniable merit of the Christian religion; moreover, it was the preserver of the ancient culture.

What services has the stubborn and selfish Jewish people performed to the humanity? Dealing everywhere only with the speculation of foreign work, choosing as country *only* such countries where under specific circumstances, corruption took root(;) the Jew passes from Germany to Poland, from Poland to Russia, from Austria to Romania and Turkey, being everywhere the certain sign, the symptom of a social disease, of a crisis in people's life, which, like in Poland, ends up sometimes with the death of a nation.

But, what does really the social corruption, this element attracting the Jew with a primary force, consist of? It consists of the disdain of the *work*, which, in spite of all of these, is the unique creator of all rights. When the work of a class within a people is no more equivalent with the rights it enjoys, then such class is a corrupt one, it lives by the speculation of the foreign work, is very much alike with the Jew, who everywhere just speculates the foreign thing"., ibid., *Evreii şi Conferinţa (The Jews and the Conference)*, Curierul de Iaşi,

with their ranks, while in Mircea's previous documents, we see about 5-6 names, without any marginal note indicating a dignity of the Court, even more, in some muniments no name of a boyar can be seen. So, it seems that the dignities of the Court have been born, after the Byzantine pattern, after Mircea's death: Even under Vlad Dracula's reign we find masters of

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January 9th, 1877, in Opere, vol. IX, pg. 299, 300

„We revert to the Jews and ask them – not why do they lie in the foreign newspapers, since the lie is the spirit of the black speculation – but [:] why are they complaining?

In Austro-Hungary they have all possible and impossible rights, why do they come to us? In Russia they are equal to the Russians – why do they come to our country? In Turkey they see the equal entitlement smiling – what are they doing here? Or, perhaps didn't they know under which *circumstances only* may they pass to Romania? Or, didn't they know that in this country they could be mostly tolerated, that this country, unfortunately, so far the battle camp between the swarms of the East and the systems of the West, got to breath freely and that it has enough of masters for accepting other Jewish masters?

We are sorry about those few Jews who, by their personal value, deserve a form of exception, but what about the rest...? By which kind of work or sacrifices have they gained the right to aspire to equality with the citizens of the Romanian state? Did they fight against the Turks, Tartars, Poles and Hungarians? Did the Turks put the heads on their lap upon infringement of old treaties? Did the esteem of this country grow by their work and was our language rediscovered from the coverings of the past? Has the Romanian nation found a place under the sun with the help of one of them? Since when is the brandy an element of civilisation?", ibid., pg. 300

„By the spirituous drink monopoly law it has been decided that only electors in community may be publicans in the country. With good reason. What guaranties can

ceremonies, sword bearers, high stewards, cupbearers, bookkeepers, etc. It is understood, the Prince (Romanian, Vodă) had lived in turn at the Polish, Hungarian, Byzanthine Court, while the old Mircea had been nowhere abroad excepting once in Braşov, for the purpose of concluding an alliance treaty with the King of

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give an alien, a nobody, a Habsburg subject, that the drinks will not be falsified, as they are, in fact, harmful to the health, respectively. The peasants-deputies of the ad-hoc assembly have already claimed by their statement that these people poison their drinks, transforming the legal holy days into days of slow and certain murder.

Nowadays, when a prefect prevents a Jew from such speculation, Pesther-Lloyd, a journal issued by Jews and also Journal des Débats (item) describe wild scenes from Turkistan, as having taken place in Romania. Let them compose themselves. A hair from the head of a foreign inhabitant of the Habsburg state was neither ever touched by someone, nor his wealth was squandered by the Romanian population.

An agent of the Hungarian government takes the forms out from a school built by Romanians, dismisses the teacher and the priest, makes fun of a border guards village, who have always fought for the House of Austria, to whom Maria Theresa gave an own hand sewn flame with the inscription *Virtus romana rediviva*, - did the Austrian press make much of all of these? Not an earthly. But a prefect in Romania does he dare to prevent a Jew for selling spirituous drinks in a village? Persecution, plunder, unlawful action"., ibid,

„It goes without saying. Laying hands on the European press, whose aim, in general, is no longer to enlighten, but to incite hatred between classes and peoples, being easier for them to tell any patented lie. The coffee houses public, indifferent to the European hyperculture and eager of sensations or novelties, finds a pleasure in reading the monstrosities to be supposed to occur in Romania. The Jews make from the European

Hungary”[26].

„You will find among the boyars of Vlad Țepeş, one called Dragomir son of Manea Udrişte, you will find another called Vintilă Florescul, but no traces of Caradale (foreigners, our note)”[27].

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journalism the same they made from the spirituous drinks in our country – poison. They have people who have tried to poison also the German literature with those writings, the people having a more natural feeling call French-Jewish writings, they have introduced both the Parisian easiness in the most serious debates, and the venom within social relations; in Austro-Hungary they set a people on other people, in Germany, a confession on another confession and nation on other nation. The Jew drawing up Pesther-Lloyd and setting the Hungarians on the Germans and on the other nationalities is the same who by the Neue freie Presse sets the Germans on the Hungarians. In all the countries they are on side of the most powerful, never on side of the oppressed one, and they join to the former in order to speculate and exploit the positive powers of the people”., ibid., pg. 300, 301

„In our country, the Jews have never been persecuted. There always have existed legal restrictions for them, but not because of their religion. The prince Stephen the Great (Stefan-voda cel Mare, in Romanian) consolidates for some Jews, coming from Poland, the freedom of confession, the right to built synagogues, a right the Turks, our so-called sovereigns, who around 1560 began to violate our treaties, have never had, although the Mosaic religion agrees with the ascetic and tolerable spirit of the Christian religion, as much as strange as the Mohammedan one. Moreover, they had the right of free trade with foreign manufacturers, – but this was all about and it should remain like this. Handicraftsmen and owners they couldn’t be, since the property was emanating from the reign and was strongly connected with the blood contribution, that nobody has requested from them,

„Many higher natures are moved by ambitions, no one however, by money hunting. At the same time, it is true, that the ambitious people can neither be gathered so easily, nor organised as splendidly as the foreigners are being organised, to order, in an exploitation society. The ambitious man does not want to take from the whole common sweat, a part from the

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nobody ever, and even if they would be requested to, they know very well to avoid, becoming Austrian subjects although, they are born in Romania from Russian subjects and their eyes have never seen Austria"., ibid., pg. 301

„In one word, everywhere in Europe, the Jew does not deserve rights, because he doesn't work; and speculation and artificial rise in the price of the means of subsistence does not represent work, and in fact, the Jew's work consists almost just in this. The Jew does not ask for freedom of the productive work, like the middle class of the XVII century, but the freedom of speculation. He is an eternal consumer, never producer and of course, only with very rare exception a Jew could be found producing something. If one is a craftsman, he is superficial, working just in order to keep appearances. That is why, even in our country, where the circumstances should oblige them to work, we will find that they represent a superficial occupation. The most industrious craftsman in this country also, is the Romanian, or the German or the Czech, and never the Jew. He represents the unhealthy competition between the bad, superficial work, and the honest and serious work. *Cheap and bad* is the Jew's slogan, before ruining the Christian worker, *expensive and bad* is his motto when he remains the market master"., ibid

„It is right that the multiplication of Jews in our countries went hand in hand with the liberal reforms, these helping to increase the number of hosts. The *Organic Regulations* already, which put the boyars beside the old nobles, giving the former an undeserved equality of rights, made that each of these new aristocrats avoiding to work and aspiring to sinecures, has a Jew partner as organiser on their pieces of estates; the aforementioned regulations

public wealth, without any compensation, without any counter service, as the applicants and pluralists; on the contrary, the ambitious man, has the firm trust that the services he would supply to the nation, would be equivalent, would even exceed the common expenditure. This is probably a mistake, but at least a mistake worthy of a man. You do not have the honour to

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have cancelled de jure the guilds, these classes so powerful and well founded by the craftsmen. Afterwards, other reforms, even more liberal, have opened the door to the state functions, multiplied ad infinitum, to all priests and traders' sons, having neither wealth, nor intelligence and who considered as a more comfortable way of living from positions paid by the state and communities than from their own work, from the occupation with the profession of their parents. Thus, have been increased the work - shame and the proletariat of the pencil, this permanently miserable class, condemned to celibate and poverty, fighting by hatred, plots, defamations and slyness for the bitter bread of the budget and suffocating, with a rare insolence any true spiritual work, any real merit"., ibid.

„So, what it still need to be said on this matter? Through the thoughtlessness of those grown up in Paris since childhood, our fight for existence became immeasurably difficult, the freedoms are just as many as forms of non-freedoms, since only the individual living from his(;)productive work(;) is free. Only that one is able to approve the good thing wherever is to be seen and the honest work.

But those who, out of defamation against talents, out of slander and intrigue make their occupation for living from day to day, those ones, who, even recognising the truth in their inmost being, because this is imposing on them, they will avoid telling it, unless they will represent the contrary.

It is quite natural that, in a country of usurped reputations, uneducated journalists, administrators lacking required knowledge, teachers without pupils, academicians etc., in a country where almost everyone

deceive yourselves, you know very well that the services you perform for the society are worthless, since they result in damage, and in spite of all of this you are not ashamed to create enormous retributions for such pretended services. All that you take in addition to what your precious services really bring, is being distributed to the inhabitants of this country, the weight

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represents just the empty form of the culture, in no case, its content, the Jews, being alike in respect of the superficiality at work, with the present generation in Romania, the Jews will ask for equal rights to all of us, riding on humanitarian and equalitarian phrases (;)"., ibid. pg. 301, 302

„Who knows how far we are from hating the Jews – and this is understandable by any individual having a clear sight – such a person will see that in all our restrictive measures the main role was exclusively played by the right judgement and the conservation instinct.

The Phanariote reign have caused significant harm to our social classes; our aristocracy, from warrior and proud how it was, had become in the majority servile, interbreeding with the deformity of modern Greek, who is equally sly, but more corrupted than the ordinary Jew. Therefore, the high class of our society, which had taken the laziness, the whole duplicity from the Constantinopolitan Greek, let it be easily suffocated by its boyars, its former servants, who, without any valuable work for the society, quickly replace the ancient aristocracy, which had so much declined. It could be found that the laziness is characteristic to the «progressive» Romanian, since they have advanced from lazy classes, from petty privileged people. So, a single working class – the peasant, was left, out of whose exploitation the whole Romanian society should live. But even the direct exploitation itself was a too hard work for the aristocracy of the former coffee-house keepers and profiteers that is why they introduced everywhere an active partner Habsburg subject – a Jew. But, the same process is repeated nowadays. As the new boyars have banished the

of the poor people's bread being diminished accordingly and therefore, as a result of the odious domination of your so-called principles, the misery grows in towns and in the country, since for the national work that is supporting you, you do not give back any equivalent[28]"[29].

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old boyars from their places, the Jews likewise, being entitled just to purchase real estate in the country, will put their hands on the middle property, whose leaseholders they are already, nowadays, and the Romanian nation will become totally proletarian"., ibid., pg. 302

„The danger does not consists of the circumstance that the Jews would take hold of the whole property, but of the fact that they *are not – cannot be Romanians*, likewise, as a general rule, they neither are, nor can be Germans, English people, French people, Italians. Why to voluntarily deceive ourselves, showing that within other nations they have reached such a degree of culture? Do we not see nowadays that the race feeling is more powerful for them than their patriotism, than their love for the nation amidst whom they live?

We do not see them forming, by the *Israelite Alliance* a pure Hebrew international organisation, more dangerous, in our opinion, since being more illusory, than the workers' or the Jesuits' one? Since the last ones represent an ideal – a false ideal for both of them, but each of them having its eternal part, dear to the humanity"., ibid.

„The first one is based on the holiness of the work, on the fully right conviction that the honest work is the unique justification on this Earth; but, on the other hand, the same ideal does not recognise the capitalisation of the work and its ennoblement in the form of the arts, literature, science, which will not be possible, without that capitalisation. If the freedom of the productive work is the engine of the society, the core which gives it the firmness is the capital. The reconciliation between the work and the capital will probably be difficult, maybe is even impossible;

That is why, „no matter how dangerous the really political rebellions would be, they can be successfully fought, while it is more difficult to fight the radical appetites feigning policy, appetites crossing any principle and any attitude, but to be satisfied”[30] .

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but the tendency, as such, remains ideal in itself, in accordance with the Christian religion in its ethical part. – On the other hand, the Jesuitism consists of reasoning, partially right, [partially] false. Based on the tacitly understood, very pessimistic theory, that the majority of the people does not know how to make right use of the ounce of mother wit the nature has endowed them, that that part, let at the discretion of their instincts, is the slave of the womb and a tool in the hands of all sorts of charlatans, knowing to flatter their bad passions, the Jesuitism has tried to keep the lower classes into a beneficial twilight, setting itself as target – not the mind cultivation, since its despaired to get roses out of a weed designed to blindness – but the character by metaphysical faiths. For that reason, it can be seen everywhere that the Catholic people are more cheerful and more beautiful than the Protestants, just because of the fact that this Church has deviated from the mind culture and has taken into account only the taming, embellishment of the feelings through music, sculpture, architecture, painting and through faiths that, by their holiness were reluctant toward any kind of controversy. But, on the other hand, the same school was of course the persecutor of the spirit aristocracy of those century-old people to whom the character, whatever it would be, remained totally neutralised by the enormous quantity of brain and which were seeing all the things of the world in their full clarity. The Catholicism had not the talent to associate with such people – that is why, it is defied even today, by a lot of homunculi who, on the basis of those authorities persecuted by the Church, today they are persecuting it. And it was just this, the false part of what we have called

„Does the modern Herodot know how many families there were under Matei Basarab?
400,000, corresponding to a population of 2 million and even more. The budget of the country was amounting to 700,000 ducats[31], which converted to today's currency would mean $8^{1/2}$ million francs, a fabulous amount for the Phanariote epoch; the army had between 100,000 –

Jesuitism consisted of, for characterising the political tendency of the Church"., ibid. pg. 302, 303

„But what does the «Israelite Alliance» with its branches in America, England, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy and Romania represent? It is pretended that the Jews, being everywhere oppressed, such Alliance aims at saving them from oppression.

Let us see how serious they are oppressed in our country.

Trade and capitals in their hands, the most part of the urban land property in their hands, the same in respect of the estate leases in Moldavia, all the tobacco and spirituous drinks trade by private bargain, import and export trading, in one word all the arteries of the economic life based on speculation? What is the terrible oppression they complain consisting of? And, since they are complaining, why do they not choose other places outside Romania, other countries where they may be equal with the citizens of the respective state? Why not Austria, France, Germany and other more?

Why? Because there is no oppression, there is no persecution, – and the rights they do not have, they do not deserve.

They alone, totally special and having special tendencies as a people, speaking the German as a family language, being subscribers in newspapers that are our opponents and feeding a hostile and conqueror spirit against us, they (;) do not compensate in any way the work of the people supporting them. Moreover, they always are a weapon of the strangers against us. Even the Hungarians – who cannot be supposed to be brave – imagined once a reign of the Moldavia through the agency

150,000 people[32]. Paul of Aleppo, an eye-witness, tells that the country is very compact (very densely, our note) inhabited, an immense population. From two million the population decreases under the Phanariote regime to 175,000 souls"[33].

„The cause of the fall of the Romanian Reign(;) is that Dimitrie Cantemir concluded the fatal Lusk alliance

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of the Jews and Csángó, knowing that the Jew would associate with anyone against the Romanian people"., ibid., pg. 303

„And today, when probably our existence is at stake, when our century-old rights, deriving from the capitulations of our enlightened Princes of these countries, are disputed, they again, and by the conspiracy of their «allies» make our position more difficult, taking decisions without our knowledge, asking for rights from foreigners, even from our enemies.

Do they know what they would expect in Germany for such a deed, for the picture of the Monde illustré, for the lying article of Pesther-Lloyd, for making appeal to the aliens in respect of the internal affairs of this country? Hard labour or jail.

For this reason we shall summary the judgment in form of a sentence (fetva) of the Sheik Ül-Islam, as follows: The law provides for that, the individual conspiring with the foreigners against the institutions of his country and against the people he is living in, is a traitor.

Does a traitor deserve any rights?

NO"., ibid., pg. 303

„Under the title *Închipuitele persecuţiuni în contra evreilor (The Imaginary Persecutions Against the Jews),* the newspaper «Românul» published two letters, one sent by the representatives of the society *Românizarea*, and the other one, signed by about 20 persons, contesting the news brought by the foreign newspapers.

For us, the first one is more important, showing the single way the Jews could reach the equality with the citizens of the Romanian state. Only speaking Romanian in the family, only interbreeding with the Romanians, by

treaty, with Peter the Great and the sword bearer Toma Cantacuzin, acting against the will of his Prince, has passed together with his cavalry men, to the side of the Russians, has encircled Brăila, a Turkish fortified town, at that time, and besieged it. Brâncoveanu, terrified by Toma Cantacuzin's deed, retreated to Târgovişte and declared himself as neutral. Peter the Great wanted to

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interconfessional marriages, they will be gradually helpful for carrying out the cultural task of the Romanian country, only then will they enter in the social community of the Romanians and will become flesh of our flesh. Until then, however, the nation will feel them as something foreign inside its body, as a parasite drying up the pith of the ancient oak-tree"., ibid.

„We say it again that we are sorry about those relatively few, let say about 2-3,000, who have become identified with this country, and nevertheless, they must submit to the same terms of the public right as the recent immigrants;(;) but everyone can understand that within a foreign army approaching to us, nobody will try to differentiate the few friends, one could have within such an army. And the Jews are an economic army, a race of natural partners against everything not being related to the Jewish race.

The second letter tells the truth, that the Jews live in Romania without them being caused the slightest evil, since only the positive things could be called evil, in no case restrictions about which everyone knows that they represent the single *modus vivendi* we can have with the Jewish nation, for the time being. But this letter – we know it very well – will never have the signatures of **almost all** coreligionarists of Romania. This is a phrase as many others of our newspapers, also speaking uninterruptedly about nation, national determination, while everyone knows in one's innermost soul that the Romanian nation, as it is, didn't even succeeded to open its being to the sun, but, oppressed by people and circumstances, supports by its efforts all the worthless apparatus of the foreign cultural forms, introduced by the numerous class of

break the Prince (Romanian, Voda) messenger's skull, but he was hindered by Cantemir to do it.

We do not dispute the complicity of the Cantacuzin boyars in relation with the Prince's tragic death, but we deny the boyars' complicity, in general. Unfortunately the Prince was in Bucharest, not in Târgovişte. A Turkish body of troops was stationing in

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proletarians of the pencil who, putting them on without understanding their meaning, finds its daily bread that it couldn't find by working, since it doesn't want to work"., ibid., pg. 303, 304

That is why „we pretend that the introduced forms will not remain empty forms, just shells for parties' games, but they should have a real content. We wish to *preserve* freedoms and institutions by their realisation, by their sincere application versus a current discrediting them abusively and by reductio ad absurdum"., ibid., *Studii asupra situației (Studies on the situation)*, Timpul, February 24th, 1880, in Opere, vol. XI, Ed. cit., Bucharest, 1984, pg. 30

„One must not forget the inner meaning, one must not forget that any good we enjoy in this world is generally other people's deed and its possession must be compensated by a work equivalent. Therefore, the upper classes are bound to gather as much culture as possible for making easier the work of the lower people, in order to enlighten them and to lead them to the moral and material progress"., ibid., *Şi iarăşi bat la poartă…(They knock at the door again ...)*, Timpul, April 12th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, Ed. cit. (Cited Edition), Bucharest, 1985, pg. 135

[9] Ibid., *Nu ştim de unde şi până unde…(We don't know from where and until when…)*, Timpul, January 5th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. pg. 165, 166

[10] ibid., *«Românul» nu încetează…(«Românul» does not cease…)*, Timpul, February 6th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 54

[11] It is not an accident that the „foreign reign began with the gradual suppression of the army"., ibid., *În numărul de ieri am arărat…(In yesterday's issue we have shown ...)*, Timpul, July 26th, 1880, in Opere, vol. XI, Ed. cit. (Cited Edition), Bucharest, 1984, pg. 268

[12] Ibid., *«Românul» nu încetează…(«Românul» does not cease…)*, Timpul, February 6th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 54

Giurgiu, ready to put everything to the edge of the sword. Mustafa Aga declared in front of the boyars that they are responsible for Brâncoveanu, and held the traders responsible for the boyars.

The Cantacuzin boyars have hardly expiated their complicity. It is true that they followed on the throne for a too short period of time, but they paid with

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[13] Ibid., *«Românul» ne somează…(«Românul» summons us...)*, Timpul, March 6th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 95

[14] Ibid.

[15] Attention!: „There is no other type of a dirty character and intelligence like the Byzantine Empire, from the day on which the rest of the Roman soul has left it, so that the Babylonia and Assyria, even the small Palestine had a stronger influence on the civilisation than the East Empire, become Greek. By themselves, they would never had play a role in Romania, but they succeeded as lackeys and servants of the Turk"., ibid., *Adevărul doare (The truth hurts). Around March 3rd…*, Timpul, April 1st, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 122, 123

„The Greeks from the Byzantium. Only there, the father was taking out the eyes of his sons or was killing them for making use by himself of the entire wealth, only there the sons were taking out the eyes of their parents for the same reason; such things did not happen to other people"., ibid., *În discutarea proiectului de maiorat…In discussing the burgomaster office (Romanian, maiorat) project*, Timpul, December 19th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 375

„The Byzantine Empire (;) is a nest of slyness, nothingness and full corruption"., ibid., *Între părerile…(Among the opinions...)*, Curierul de Iaşi, October 10th, 1876, in Opere, vol. IX, pg. 228

„The Turks come over, being contaminated by the rottenness of this empire and (;) decaying within a few hundred years as from the plague"., ibid., the Manuscript *Mi-am adus apoi aminte…(Afterwards, I remembered...)*, in Opere, vol. XIII, Ed. cit. (Cited Editions), Bucharest, 1985, pg. 352

„Does it still need to remind the Romanians' special history in order to show how this people, even in the third generation have poisoned and still poison our public and private life? When Radu the Great (Romanian, Radu cel Mare), Prince of Walachia, has (;) brought to the country

their life for their ambition. Having their origin in France, after the Crusades they remained in Constantinople, where have reached the highest dignities, downgraded under the Turks to the level of traders, the Cantacuzin boyars have early wandered through Romania. Becoming related with the ancient Basarabi boyars, they caused the destruction of the latter and of this

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the Greek Patriarch Nifon, the latter, instead of dealing with Church affairs, he began to politicise, to create a party among the boyars, to sharpen and keep on poisoning the hostility between the (boyar families) Dănuleşti and Drăculeşti, between the descendents of Mircea and Dan I. In Moldavia, a Greek (Despot) spoils by court plots the reign of Prince Lăpuşneanu (Romanian, Lăpuşneanu Vodă) and brings that aurochs to a real fury and blood thirst"., ibid., *Între părerile…(Among the opinions...)*, Curierul de Iaşi, October 10th, 1876, in Opere, vol. IX, pg. 228

And, „for a brief characterisation of this race, we'll tell that, if the East could chose (;) between a Greek and a Jewish predomination, the *Jewish* one is preferable"., ibid.

[16] Ibid., *Mai alaltăieri…(The day before yesterday...)*, Timpul, February 19th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 74

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., pg. 75

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., *Varii în adevăr…(Variations, that's true...)*, Timpul, January 14th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 28

[22] „For instance, false principles in the hands of honest people are more useful than very well principles in the hands of charlatans. Since the truth within a state does not depend so much on *ideas,* but on *character* and the vital core, the seriousness in character and aspiration constitutes the real authority of a group of politicians, and not the few ideas taken from books"., ibid., *Totdauna înaintea unui vot…(Always before a vote...)*, Timpul, January 13th, 1880, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 388

„Ideas and principles are words that can be learnt by heart, without having penetrated into the juice and the

country”[34].

„And, in fact, is this not degradation, when the hands of some worthless people trouble even the ashes of a saint like Matei Basarab was?

Through Paul din Aleppo’s eyes, we see the old Prince playing with the children in the streets and

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blood of one reciting them as a part played in the theatre. We ask ourselves, when an actor does play the part of a king in a play, did he become a real king or does he remain the same poor actor over whom the illusion of an hour throws the royalty splendour?”., ibid., *Lucru de care trebuie… (The thing we need to ...)*, Timpul, May 15th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 233

„One can discuss with someone else wishing for the good of the state and only for this, but for a man for whom the good of the state is just a pretext, and his own good the real aim, no discussion is possible, since with the appetite there is no discussion possible, unless he envisages the perspective of being even more satisfied”., ibid., *Totdauna înaintea unui vot…(Always before a vote...)*, Timpul, January 13th, 1880, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 388

„That is why we won’t ask what specifically are the principles professed by Mr. This or Mr. That, although they have their meaning, but who and how one is. Does this man work? Does he have something? Did he study? Is he honest in his affairs? Here you are the main questions that ultimately decide how valuable or valueless a man is – but not professions of faith, printed on a paper, big and empty words, travels into remote countries, which have nothing in common with our country, idle talks the public deem prophetic truths and undisputable revelations”., ibid., *Lucru de care trebuie…(The thing that must ...)*, Timpul, May 15th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 233

[23] Ibid., *Varii în adevăr…(Variations in truth...)* , Timpul, January 14th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 27

[24] Ibid., *Are haz «Românul»…(«Românul» is funny...)*, Timpul, January 22nd, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 40

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., pg. 41

[27] Ibid., pg. 42

throwing money to them from the balcony of the Court in Târgovişte, with the same eyes we see him in the big hall of the palace, with his old uncovered face and closed eyes, dressed in royal cloths with gold buttons and fur collars, and from top to toe wearing a thin veil of white silk with a big gold cross. The Patriarch of Antioch – an Arab – was reading the mortuary prayers under the

[28] „In spite of the liberal, rather equalitarian Constitution, we are far more than ever from real freedom, far more than ever from that elementary faculty of the people of setting by itself the taxes proportionate to its possibilities: our centralised state demands, is always asking for something, for luxury needs, even for factitious needs, and – by hook or by crook – money must be gotten. In this case, no question might be asked if one is willing or able to pay: one *must* pay, because the central mechanism keeps asking for and every year the expenses increase up to exhaustion of the inhabitants' taxable capacity"., ibid. *Laudele pe cari foile guvernamentali…(The compliments that the governmental newspapers…)*, Timpul, February 5th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 52

„One can notice a population(;) decrease (;), that rises in direct relation with the promotion of demoralisation, ireligiosity and expansion of vices"., ibid., *Pe când discutăm…(While talking about ...)*, Timpul, February 21st, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 77

„The Romanian race is continually decreasing in number and degenerating as regards physical constitution".(ibid., *Laudele pe cari foile guvernamentali…(The compliments that the governmental newspapers…)*, Timpul, February 5th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 52) „The increasing populations (;) are the consuming immigrant ones"., ibid.

„From the point of view of the living conditions for the masses we can affirm that any government, before the epoch of reforms, was superior compared to the following, was cheaper, more adequate to the insignificant needs of a not-so-significant production"., ibid.

„The status of the reforms and our pretended progresses are in a disastrous relation with the population decrease (;)".(ibid.) „A lot of reforms, and all cost a lot of money"., ibid.

light of the big wax torches. He was a man who never had spoken another language, but Romanian, a man proving a unique personal valour and an extraordinary patriotism.

For, here you are the words he wrote, perhaps spoken:

„All the reforms and freedoms cost money. Every single word, a wise man like [Mr.] Sihleanu (a foreigner, nouveau riche high official, our note) speaks, every line he writes, although he doesn't produce anything, requires money, i.e. work. But every money taken from the contributor – and often under difficult conditions and usurpation, for one should borrow money for being able to pay the taxes – any money, is being deducted from the weight of the poor man's bread, namely from his muscular power, from his production capacity. That's right that the big deficits engendered by the decrease of our people will be replaced, but will be replaced with foreigners(;)"., ibid.

„Everyone can see to whom benefit we impose taxes, to whom advantage we fight and work: for those that are replacing us"., ibid.

„That arrogant attitude of the superficial progress must cease definitely, while beside it real regresses should be seen"., ibid., pg. 53

„The consumption exceeds the production.
Why, however is the consumption still increasing?
Because whole layers of ambitious natures, ignorant people, academicians of primary schools, living so far with the greatest trouble, participate today to the governmental omnipotence and oppress the country at their own discretion.
A proof is the increase of the expenditure budget (;), another proof, the extreme tension of people's possibilities, another one, the misery in villages and the mortality in towns(;).

For the matter is not about production increase; it must increase, with consumption increase. The social matter, profound and painful(;), is to establish if the

It happened that some bishops and princes of our country *were foreign* people, not by the holly law, but by their *origin*, *language* and their bad *habits*, namely Greeks; who, after neither having given up, nor lazed to *put down the old, good habits of the country,* for the spoil of the habits, brought in short time the

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number of producers and their production capacity have increased. These ones did not increase. On the contrary, over the same number of producers, exists a very thick layer of consumers, as much exacting as corrupted, and in order to give to the latter things they could deprive themselves of, as refineries, surpluses, an entire people is moiling and toiling up to exhausting its powers. This is the big secret of the poverty: the increase of the consumer classes, which do not compensate by anything the labour of the producers supporting them"., ibid., *Nu avem din nefericire un serviciu statistic…(Unfortunately, we do not have a statistical department...)*, Timpul, August 1st, 1880, in Opere, vol. XI, pg. 277

„That's true, in a normal state, governed properly, exists a compensation for the sacrifices of the lower classes. The party discharged by the physical work of the society losses its muscular power (irritability), but gains much more by increase of the nervous power (sensitivity, intelligence).

The arts and sciences are luxury offspring, but they represent compensation. The technological inventions in all life branches(;) subjugating the power of a blind slave, who does not rebel, of the nature, the physical labour of the man becoming more and more easy. But, do we realty have arts and sciences? Is it that consuming layer of naughty people a real class of scientists who could compensate the work(;) they are living from? As we already know, it isn't"., ibid.

[29] Ibid., *Între variile acuzări (Among various accusations)*, Timpul, January 23rd, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 43

[30] Ibid.

> country to complete waste and ruin … About this we'll repeat, changing a little bit, the words coming from David, a holly prophet and emperor: Lord, the foreigners came to our estates and soiled their hands with bribes and dared to sell and trade the seven sacraments and to chase the *freeholders*, and to allow the foreigners to enter into their labours and endeavours "[35].

„If(;) we'll be forced or not to pronounce ourselves at a certain moment for the power area of one of our big neighbours, this is a matter that can be presented to the conscience of every politician and, once submitted to the thinking apparatus, it is understood that it must reach the highest point, either in one affirmation, or in one negation or, ultimately, in the sceptical renunciation of giving, at this time, the solution to a matter for which the *pro* and *contra* reasons are balanced.

If we would imagine the whole nation being, in a way, concentrated in one single man, in one single individual conscience, we would see that in present

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[31] „and this happened in times when the American gold had not yet invaded Europe"., ibid., *În numărul de ieri am arătat…(In our yesterday's issue we have shown)*, July 26th, 1880, in Opere, vol. XI, pg. 268

[32] „Well, in those times the whole German Empire couldn't rise such a numerous army; the big Spanish army could hardly reach its number"., ibid.

[33] Ibid., *Erodot al «Românului» continuă…(Herodot of «Românul» is going on…)*, Timpul, January 25th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 45

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., pg. 45, 46

moments that conscience would be undetermined and confuse.

Let’s admit, for instance that Mircea I would live nowadays, having the whole responsibility for the situation and the entire honour for success, it any, and that this would happen on the day following the fatal battle of Nicopoli: our Ruler will look for the difficult and painful way in order to maintain the independence of his country.

Pressed between three big rival powers, Hungary, Poland and Turkey, exposed without any protection to the domination ambitions of the three of them, velleities not only unjust, but excluding each other, we would see our Prince holding with a jealous fear with an independence so haunted from everywhere, we would see him following a hesitating system, characteristic to a precarious situation and trying to appear as a partisan of all three neighbours, at the same time, for gaining the goodwill and trust of the three of them. Such a system of mutual counter-position and of neutralisation of the three rivals could preserve the country, up to a certain degree, from being absorbed by one of the neighbours, could, somehow, maintain it on the water-line, avoid sinking, but, no doubt, threw over our Prince the shadow of a policy characterised by hypocrisy and duplicity, exposing him to humility from the side of that one of the rivals who felt deceived.

The task of representing a whole people, by oneself, is today no longer chargeable on anybody, not even on the Ruler (on the head of state, our note), since the responsibility for the foreign affairs is also incumbent on the temporary counsellors, resulted from the parliamentary system. By the way, this circumstance is

something very good for the present times, for it seems that the present generation does not contain in any of its areas, that rare metal out of which the nature has sometimes the heart to cast figures like that of Mircea I”[36].

„Our today’s liberalism means the reign based on the masses deceived again and again, because *mundus vult decipi ergo decipiatur* is the governmental password (;). The people want to be deceived, so let’s deceive them, that is what our contemporaries tell to themselves and have for this a storehouse full of the cheapest phrases”[37].

[36] Ibid., *«Românul» nu încetează…(«Românul» does not cease…),* Timpul, February 6th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 53, 54

[37] Ibid., pg. 54, 55

„The country needs the rebirth of all moral instincts[38]"[39].

„The moral good of the national independence helps a little when our pseudo Romanians put obstacles(;) that are essential to the development of our people(;)"[40]. „Among these thousands of people having nothing, having learned nothing, who do not work at all and who, in spite of all of these want to live their life well and for granted(;) a real conspiracy has been established in order to defeat any real progress of the

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[38] The instinct of loving to work, firstly. „The nowadays organisation has favoured the behaviour of escaping from work; through it, worthless elements have reached very high positions at the head of the state, in order to live their life or to become rich through its wealth, and all this organisation made also other classes believe that, through politics, only, one could raise oneself very high! Thus, the university professors, instead of doing their jobs, are engaged in politics; the high school and primary school teachers, likewise; the engineers, physicians, writers, musicians, even actors, all of them went into politics in order to upstart. And this is for sure, the biggest evil; for, the present evils could be ephemeral, but, by having corrupted even the nerve of life of any society, i.e. the love for work, not even a correction hope has remained. Our army can win battles(;), a minister of foreign affairs can lead the policy abroad with an extraordinary skill; all these taken together will constitute the historical luxury of our existence, but such luxury will not stop the decomposition of our social blood, our loss through the loss of the work"., ibid., *Într-un studiu de politică…(In a political study...)*, Timpul, December 9th, 1878, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 156

[39] Ibid., *Ni se zice…nu afirmăm…(We are told that ...we do not affirm…)*, Timpul, March 18th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 105

[40] Ibid., *Foile române din Ardeal…(The Romanian newspapers in Transylvania…)*, Timpul, February 13th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 69

people. A(;) silent, but powerful and solidary conspiracy"[41].

And for oppressing the Romanian state, „the categories of «patriots» we'll for ever fraternise with the foreigners"[42].

„By the power given by the state authority, the administration removes the obstacles opposed to the economical and intellectual development of a country"[43].

„But the present administration, with the elements it consists of, constitutes in itself a permanent hindrance to our development, as bigger as, instead of moralising, it corrupts"[44].

„Nothing is more demoralising for a people, than the rise of the naughtiness and lack of culture in merits titles.

Encouraging the naughtiness, posed as a government principle, incites the bad people to make use of any kind of means for the single purpose of succeeding to lay hands on the state"[45].

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[41] Ibid., pg. 69, 70

[42] Ibid., *Sentința Tribunalului…(The sentence issued by the Court ...)*, Timpul, February 14th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 70

[43] Ibid., *Pe când discutăm…(While we were talking about...)*, Timpul, February 21st, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 76

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., *Răspunzând la discursul domnului Maiorescu…(In reply to Mr. Maiorescu's speech...)*, Timpul, March 20th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 107

It „is too much expected from spreading the tuition within the people. The evil cause is much more profound, it's ethnical[46]"[47].

„It is absolutely indecent that(;) newly came foreigners[48] pretend to determine the vital functions, even the future of the Romanian people[49]"[50].

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[46] „An old people and a young one are two branches of the tree of humanity, but which have separated long time ago and became different long time ago. Oh, poor the young people, with generous instincts, with flexible intelligence and loving the truth, when coming into contact with the dry wood of the humanity, with remains of old peoples, which went through all the miseries of a withered civilisation, with those remains in which vertebras and skulls are ossified and condemned to a certain form, remains intellectually empty, physically degenerated, morally weak and lacking character. All the public life of the young people becomes vitiated, its morality debases, and its intelligence becomes poor and dry. There is no danger for the Romanians to assimilate young races of any origin they would be, but it [is] a great danger to assimilate old races, which have passed through a high civilisation and through big corruption, and which, during their life have lost for ever the dower of their physical and moral health.

And how won't be so? These plebs are recruited [,for instance,] from Byzantium, from the Greek Empire of the East: Someone should represent the history of this empire, one thousand years of horrible crimes, troubles, demagogy, someone must remember that it was the empire where the fathers were deflowering their daughters, the child was putting out his parents' eyes, the parent, his child's eyes, where the marriage was a mockery, where soul and body were venal and then one will see that some causes that have lasted one thousand years is not possible to have been assimilated, materialised in the race of people living there. The law of

„The Romanians are contaminated with this virus of dishonesty and charlatanism, entered in their bodies by introducing such people into the public affairs, and only the defeat of the national character and race could take us out of the intellectual dizziness and the moral fall in which we found ourselves”[51].

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causality is absolute; what has happened like a cause one thousand years in Byzantium and up to now should pass into the physical and moral organisation of this nation, took roots in the sly, askance and myope sight, in the goat physiognomy, in the tendency of having humpback. To the sly sight corresponds the intellectual daltonism, for any moral good, honour, dignity, or truth; to the tendency of having a physical humpback corresponds the moral humpback. For, the nature is the only one never lying"., ibid., *Materialuri etnologice privind în parte şi pe d[omnul] Nicu Xenopulos, criticul literar de la «Pseudo-Românul»…(Ethnological materials regarding partially Mr. Nicu Xenopulos, the literary critic from «Pseudo-Românul»…)*, Timpul, April 8th, 1882, in Opere, vol. XIII, pg. 97

„This opinion doesn't belong exclusively to me. The famous French ethnographer Lejean disputes any possibility of honesty for this race, and a modern author speaks about it, as follows:

> The Greek does not enjoy a good name in Romania. The wealthy people among them are card players, almost without exception and show a total sexual immorality; their superficial politeness gives them a certain appearance of people of society. In Romania, the majority of swindlers, thieves and killers are recruited from the lower classes of this people.
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> As regards the Greek *clerk*, for him everything can be sold for money and perjury, for him, is not a condemnable deed. If one could dispute any morality to the Polish Jews (Jews from Poland, our note) one must dispute much more to the Greek, because I

„But there is a much more serious side of the matter in a state where there is no measure of merit, on the contrary, the merit and the science are causes of persecution from the side of the ignorant and greedy demagogy[52](;), the young spirits born with a more energetic chords of perception and will, we could call them the chosen people, loose their trust in the organisation of the society and intend to adopt as being

don't think that the Neo-Greek will find the work morality in his dictionary. Night attacks and robberies are committed mainly by these people and, for the majority of the lawyers are also Greek, generally nothing is being discovered or, even if it is discovered, the thief is allowed to escape or is being acquitted, under the pretext that nothing can be proved against him.

The Greek begins with the box of oranges he speculates and ends up in becoming double and triple millionaire. During this time his *conscience doesn't play any role*; he becomes pious only after his wealth is well preserved in an iron box. For getting such wealth, he does not scruple from anything and in his opinion any means are permitted, moral or immoral, honest or dishonest, right or criminal. (V. R. Henke, *Rumänen*, pg. 37, 38)"., ibid.

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Ibid., *Ziarele franceze…(The French newspapers…)*, Timpul, March 22nd, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 109

48 „Romania has become the collecting marsh for everything being unhealthy abroad, from a moral and economic point of view, for all those trying to escape from the work, for all those feeling followed by enrolment in the army, by the police and the criminal justice"., ibid., *Nenorocitele astea de țări…(These unfortunate countries …)*, Timpul, January 22nd, 1880, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 393

theirs, such ideas of destruction, including the destruction of any state”[53].

„A policy having the purpose to render to the historical elements of the country, the role they are

[49] „To believe that, by enacted laws, the historical results accumulated over centuries can be simply removed one day, would be a superficial idea about the state and the people. The Chinese or black people from America do not transform themselves by a law project in an Anglo-Saxon race, even if they would speak the American English, the black people actually speak”., ibid., *O cestiune mai mult caracteristică… (A rather characteristic matter ...)*, Timpul, February 24th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 196

„ We hardly can show, precisely, what do they lack, those individuals we call Romanians, from a geographical point of view and because they say it themselves. They lack the *historical* sense, they belong to the Romanian nation by the fact that they were born on a such-and-such piece of land, and not by their language, customs or way of seeing things”., ibid., *Batrânii şi tinerii (The old and young people)* , Timpul, December 14th, 1877, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 24

And the „cosmopolitism is a *simulation* and nothing else, it never was something true. The foreigners having personal interest in Walachia for instance, will always *simulate* the cosmopolitism, since, by declaring their personal feelings, they could prejudice their individual interests”., ibid., Manuscrisul *Din şedinţele Societăţii România Jună. Naţionaliştii şi Cosmopoliţii*, *(*The Manuscript *From the meetings of the Romanian Young Society. Nationalists and Cosmopolites)* in Opere, vol. IX, pg. 457

And this does not hinder them in any way that, for tactical reasons, to consider themselves as «Romanians»: „One who will draw up the list of particularly high officials, retired people, deputies, leaseholders of public and private assets, in one word the list of everything representing the circulation and regulation of the general life of this country, will easily notice that the breaks of the real reign have escaped from the hands of the autonomous and historical element and fall into foreign hands. But does this

entitled to in directing the public affairs, would cause the disappearance of all improvised patriots"[54].

„What we would like to establish in the conviction of the Romanian people is that, far from being able to play with our living powers and far from being allowed to waste them, we have no power in excess, not even for the maintenance of the normal life of the Romanian

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last element, this formation(;)pretend itself Romanian? It absolutely does, since otherwise it would not have any pretext to reign"., ibid., *«Românul» a contractat năravul... («Românul» has developed the bad habit ...)*, *Timpul*, July 29th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 267

„People, nation represents the complex of social classes of certain people having the same ethnic origin. A big owner, a peasant, a trader, a member of a guild represent, at the same time, the people; none of them is more or less the *people* than each of them separately"., ibid., *Un cenuşar român...(A Romanian drudge*, *Timpul*, April 8th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 215

[50] Ibid., Manuscrisul (The Manuscript) *Omenia omenie cere şi cinstea cinste! (Real reputation requires real honesty!)*, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 677
[51] Ibid.

[52] „From that, the terrible envy such naughty people entertain for any gleam of real merit and the obstinate hunting of healthy intellectual elements of the country, since, at the moment when [through them – through the healthy elements -] [the country would come to reason from their torrent of words, the reign of the demagogues will end.

That's true, how would the people open their eyes when someone would tell them: Hey, folks, listen to me! You pay for teachers, who actually do not teach your children, being themselves uneducated; you pay for unjust judges and administrators who steal from you, because everyone does not earn enough money from their salaries. And such people make you loose your head and deceive you with words".(ibid., *Actualitatea…(The present times…)*, Timpul, December 11th, 1877, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 19,20) „And then all of them (;) please their humour and impoverish you, creating for them

state and that we should be tight-fisted with the few things we have. The conviction(;) that we are economically and, as a people, relatively weak will made us to be sparing with our money and blood; will make us to know that our army does not exist for defending the threatened Christianity (does not exist for intervening, who knows where on the Earth, our note), but for defending

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comfortable places, deputations, townhouses, commissions and so on and so forth, you pay in cash, while they give you nothing, nothing at all, in exchange, but, on the contrary they despoil you, after you have dressed them up. Won't it be better that those who do not need their fortune will reign, having their own wealth? Or, at least people who, by their wise mind, pay you in return for what you have spent with them?

Therefore, chase the herd of these rascals who do not work anything and have nothing but want to live like the richest people, who do not know anything, but want to teach your children, do not have enough brain in their heads for managing themselves, but want to manage you, all"., ibid., pg. 20

But, „now, how the man is made, thinking firstly about oneself, one doesn't see the relation between one's work and one's purse, doesn't see that all the liberals (that all the demagogues, our note) speculate just for living from the people, because they do not have anything and know noting, while people believe what the press writes, all these newspapers that grow like mushrooms during elections periods, printed on credit, in Jewish typographies, and thus, the people, confused, elect the proposed candidates and the Chamber is formed(;)"., ibid., *Ilustrații administrative…(Administrative illustrations…)*, Timpul, December 18th, 1877, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 27

„The newspapers(;) are made in order to awaken the passions in our society and to create a public atmosphere needed by the Government or its opponents for inaugurating the rise of some officials and the fall of others, respectively; (;) the press (mass-media, our note) is not much more than a factory of phrases covering with

ourselves; that the state income is not designed to feed numerous classes of parasites, but to maintain in good order the life of the state by reliable and educated bodies and, finally, that our entire [social] organism must be simplified according to the simple needs of a poor people”[55].

„The eternal trusteeship exercised on the lower classes gives them, truly, their daily bread, but it deprives them of their individual energy, makes them indolent.

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hypocrisy, unknown interests, differing from the people’s true interest”., ibid., *Frază şi adevăr (Phrase and truth)*, Timpul, December 23rd, 1877, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 30

„For deceiving the simple people, they make use of sentimental performances of patriotism, nationalism, economical emancipation; for confusing the uninitiated persons’ judgment, a labyrinth of figures and pseudo-scientific phrases is being built, having neither head nor tail, in which no honest idea is clearly expressed, but from whose wholeness results the intention of the government, harmful to the state interests”., ibid., *Mai toate ziarele oficioase… (Almost all semi-official newspapers...)*, Timpul, November 16th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 354)

And since the „ physical law of inertia has its analogy in(;) the intellectual laziness of the press readers(;), the people imagine that they have thought with their minds and have convinced themselves, while, actually they only have been deceived without being aware about, by political charlatans”., ibid., *Calumniare audacter…*, Timpul, July 25th, 1880, in Opere, vol. XI, pg. 265

[53] Ibid., *Răspunzând la discursul domnului Maiorescu…(In replay to Mr. Maiorescu’s speech...)*, Timpul, March, 20th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 107

[54] Ibid., *Ziarele franceze…(The French newspapers...)*, Timpul, March 22nd, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 110

[55] Ibid., *E ciudat că tocmai noi…(It is strange that just us...)*, Timpul, September 27th, 1878, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 126

On the other hand, the freedom system, at the same time of the individualism, contains even greater dangers. It transforms life in a mutual oppression fight that can lead to complete dissolution of the state"[56].

„Between these two extremes is(;) the real political skill. To join the exigencies of the unconditioned existence of the state with the exigencies of individual freedom, not to allow that associations of rapacious individuals make from the state one of their tools and, on the other hand, not to allow that the impersonal state fully tie the individual's hands, that is the problem(;)"[57].

„We are liberals(;) in the true sense of the word, but we cannot understand that, making use of the liberal ideas, deceiving the masses, promising them mountains of gold and rivers of milk, without work, someone will in the end succeed to oppress those masses, even to direct them from bad to worse"[58].

„The incapacity for telling lies, for making idle promises, although deceiving for the masses(;), is a virtue that makes the way heavier instead of smoothing it, for the people believe easily those deceiving them, are easily deceived by the demagogues' flattering and let themselves being despoiled by one who throws to them a beautiful phrase and calls them anytime sovereign, generous, big, peerless, unique on Earth"[59].

„Why are the masses so credulous …? It is not so difficult to explain. They forget the saying: *God will not give you, more than you can bear* and, for getting rid of relatively small, present sufferings you do

[56] Ibid., *Spiritul public modern (The modern public spirit)*, Timpul, November 8th, 1878, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 148

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., *Credem că destul am vorbit…(We think that we've spoken enough…)*, Timpul, January 9th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 168

[59] Ibid.

whatever you would be asked to, not knowing that from what you are doing something even worse could come out. Unfortunately, the need is people's companion, companion of all the people, although in different proportions and in another measure. Just one is able to judge if a such-and-such change could quiet it, but others are not able"[60].

„Against this evil of the easy belief of the masses there is a remedy, one single remedy, given by the benevolent nature, and such inestimable gift is the difference between the people. God has filled the world with what he could, but He also did some differences; these are the laws and the institutions for all of us in the same way, but the legal equality will never remove the innate inequality or the inequality gained through work.

The wealthy and cultivated classes deceive themselves once, twice, but not for ever"[61].

„Once the virus personified by villains(;) deprived from love for truth and courage, has entered into a living organism of a people, it cannot be about a historical aristocracy, it remains an ideal to be envied [62], that a

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[60] Ibid. pg. 169

[61] Ibid., pg. 168

[62] For, the „real aristocracy(;) plays a big and essential role in the life of a people. But, for being true it needs certain life conditions, especially three, without which it may be regarded as usurpation. It is required to be historical, not so numerous, holding big immovable properties.

By *historical* we understand that it should have arisen from the own public right of a people and gained by merit for it, preferably due rather to character than to intelligence. Since, a fair, brave and generous character is inherited and represents a high political quality, while the intelligence may be recruited from everything a generation can produce better, it is the natural ally of such

few people have touched into its cleanliness and from which, other people, whose life was corrupted by demagogy or by despotism, try to renounce for future centuries, if not, for ever.

There are, truly historical families in this country; in general their names is formed after the name of a certain mountain in the Carpathians.

But, under the reign of a heredity regime, considering the distribution of wealth, during times they couldn't keep enough wealthy, or an overwhelming political influence for being what the barons were representative for England, the patricians for Rome or for Venice. That is why, we have repeated so many times that (;) reaction in the true sense of the world, reaction as the temptation of a historical reconstruction prior to the Phanariotism, it is no longer possible in Romania and we are not utopian for asking for

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characters, but unfortunately it is not inherited so surely. Moreover, the aristocracy must be not so numerous, in order to have side by side the personal merits from any generation; and last but not least, it must hold big immovable properties, since such assets are not subject to potential danger of loss, make the individual independent from money domination and put him in relation with the furrow and the historical population of the country"., ibid., *A discuta cu ignoranța…(To discuss with the ignorance...)*, Timpul, April 26th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 149, 150

„Never, but never ever there was any rivalry between the aristocracy of birth and the intellectual aristocracy; but, both of them have often found an enemy in the aristocracy of the universal wealth, of the money. The possession of money is due to an universal, cosmopolite movement of goods; the hazard and often bad qualities favour the gain of money; people the money promote do not need any of the sides giving greatness to the human being, like character, or intelligence"., ibid., pg. 150

something that would be impossible, even for God in Heavens”[63].

„I(;) not [even] ever thought to propose ”[64] „for our country”[65] „a system to awaken the 17th century, Matei Basarab’s epoch”[66].

„Nevertheless, anyone who would like to define the big mystery of the human existence will see that it consists of the permanent refreshing of the content and preservation of the forms. Old forms, but ever new spirit. Thus, we see how England, being from all points of view in front of the civilisation, keeps even today its old historical forms, for ever and ever refreshed by the modern spirit, the modern work. Therefore, we see it remaining like granite, grandiose and sure on the waves of profound social movements about which the continental states tremble”[67].

„But, of course, it does not even come into our minds to admit that the historical aristocracy(;) could be improvised and that we can dig out the Basarabi boyars’ bones for giving them a new life”[68].

„In our country(;) it is enough(;) to ensure the merit and work promotion (;); this is enough, and just for this, the social reorganisation is required[69].

„We are not(;) against any freedom, whatever it could be, as far as it is compatible with the existence of our state as a national Romanian state and to the

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[63] Ibid., *Să discutăm cu «Românul»…(Let’s discuss with «Românul»…)*, Timpul, May 7th, 1881, in Opere, vol. XII, pg. 159

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., pg. 159, 160

[68] Ibid., pg. 160

[69] Ibid.

extent that it naturally adapts to the real progress made by us, so far”[70].

„Only in this sense we deem a discussion to be possible. But, if one deems absolute and inevitable principles whose application would be equivalent with the sacrifice of [one] national interest, that one cannot be our ally[71].

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[70] Ibid., *Caracterul obştesc al luptelor…(The public character of the fights…)* Timpul, August 7th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 308

[71] „A person respecting the specific character and the freedom of manifestation of whatever national genius, thus, contracts by oneself the right of being respected in everything representing one’s own”., ibid., *Şedinţa Adunării de vineri…(The Friday’s meeting* …, Timpul, January 26th, 1882, in Opere, vol. XIII, pg. 40, 41

„(;)We can affirm(;), the history into our hands, (;)that our Rulers were Princes of Romanian race, dukes of the Romanian nation. Therefore, they were solidary with the Romanian race and for ever ready to put their head in the middle for the rights of this ethnical individuality. (;)But(;) in the hotel called "Romania" the ethnological expression is too much disregarded in favour of the geographical expression, whatever the inhabitant is. This is so true as regards the past, so that the native race was for ever different from the foreign races(;). Not only that the Romanians would had ever been intolerant. But what they wanted to keep here, was their national character, expressed in language, customs and laws”.(ibid., pg. 40) „The new period of Romania is when the old and national elements of a country were partially replaced by elements, let not say [all] harmful, but in any case, by an occult novelty”.(ibid.) „We do not say that under the sky of this country will not live and flourish as many as people of other origin. But, what we believe, based on the words of the old Prince Matei Basarab, is that our country is, in the first line, the national element and that it is written in the book of the centuries that such element will determine the fate and the character of this state”., ibid.

So, we wait that, on various fields of the public life, the honest spirits, whatever their opinions would have been so far, to feel the need of a healthy reaction according with the present needs of the country, so that, reactionary will be a title of merit even for many of those who until now were giving to this word the sense of revival of privileges and of feudalism. Our reaction is based on the conviction that the country cannot go further with such organisation(;), favouring(;) the usurped reputations, without the danger of ceasing to be a *Romanian* country, on the conviction that, ultimately the state is like a nature product, having [its] organic laws, it is living according to, and that, in the event that an artificial legislation will be introduced in replacement of the one that would have been appropriated and have been resulted from its organic stage, the arbitrariness of such an substitution is being expressed by acute crises that may even put an end to our existence"[72].

„We fear(;) that the cosmopolite nation(;) will not defeat the real Romanian nation.

Not with phrases and flattering, not with national guards to no purpose, the true nation is being loved and developed.

We love it as it is, as the God created it, as it passed by suffering throughout centuries until nowadays. We love it *sans phrases*"[73]. „But we love it, without asking something in exchange, not even its trust, so easily misled, not even its love, patched up

[72] Ibid., *Caracterul obştesc al luptelor…(The public character of the fights…)*, Timpul, August 7th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 308

[73] Ibid., *De ceea ce ne temem…(What we fear …)*, Timpul, May 27th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 260

nowadays to foreign things and to foreign people. And if, even our memory will perish in the shadow of times and it would be razed from everyone's memory, we'll keep trying on the same way of the preservation of nationality and of the country, without making no dangerous concession to the ideas of this century, in such a supreme regard. Who, from this point of view is not for us, is against us[74]”[75].

„If our tendencies and ideas could be called reactionary, an epithet used by our opponents to gratify us, we admit this reaction solely in the meaning given by the physiology, the reaction of a body able to become again healthy against the harmful influences of the foreign elements introduced into it”[76].



[74] Because, yes!, „w
gentle, human people, on whose back the diplomats cut maps and wars, paint empires about which it is not aware at all, I love this people that serves only as stilts for all those who rise to the power, an unfortunate people suffering under the greatness of all the ice palaces we put on its shoulders.

On its forehead the foreigners write conspiracies and alliances(;), on its account are planed(;) grandiose revolutions, whose fame is taken by about three individuals, whose martyrdom and dishonours being born by the poor people”., Manuscrisul (The Manuscript) *Ce să vă spun? Iubesc acest popor…(What shall I tell you. I Love this people...)*, in Opere, vol. IX, pg. 488

[75] Ibid., *De ceea ce ne temem…(What we fear ...)*, Timpul, May 27th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 260

[76] Ibid., *Esprimată în termenii cei mai generali…(Expressed in the most general terms…)*, Timpul, August 17th, 1879, in Opere, vol. X, pg. 315

Further readings by MIHAI EMINESCU

Opere, volumul IX, PUBLICISTICĂ,
*(**Works, volume IX, JOURNALISM**)*
1870-1877, *Albina*, *Familia*, *Federațiunea*, *Convorbiri Literare*, *Curierul de Iaşi*, An Introductory Study by Alexandru Oprea, with 68 reproductions of manuscripts and publications, Critical edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1980

Opere, volumul X, PUBLICISTICĂ,
November 1st, 1877 – February 15th, 1880, *Timpul*, with 16 reproductions of manuscripts and publications, Critical Editions founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1989

Opere, volumul XI, PUBLICISTICĂ,
February 1st, 1880 – December 31st, 1880, *Timpul*, with

27 reproduction of manuscripts and publications, Critical edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1984

Opere, volumul XII, PUBLICISTICĂ,
January 1st, 1881 – December 31st, 1881, *Timpul*, with 28 reproductions of manuscripts and publications, Critical Edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1985

Opere, volumul XIII, PUBLICISTICĂ,
1882 – 1883, 1888 – 1889, *Timpul*, *România Liberă*, *Fântâna Blanduziei*, with 64 reproductions of manuscripts and publications, Critical Edition founded by Perpessicius, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1989

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„The yesterday's verses: «One who have loved the foreigners, will find one's heart eaten by dogs», could appear to some of us, as chauvinism and exaggeration, derogation from humanitarian principles and a contradiction of the commandments brought by our Saviour. But today, after having seen and suffered with our own flesh what are doing, in their daily life, just the nations preaching the humanitarianism and the cosmopolitism, and especially after having realised that the evil from the humanity (moral decline and men's oppression) is due just to the perversion of attacking abroad the nationalism laws and applying them *at home,* with bigotry and supreme egoism, the way to the understanding of the confessions and prophesies from Timpul is much more open to us. And the above cited verses do not seem to us inhuman at all, or being harmful to the truth. But, on the contrary, they curse those who trample the light under their foot, for the foreignism is confounded, on a greater plan, with the sin, with introducing killing microbes into healthy organisms. And who favours the foreign, betrays the health, the light. Make fun of God. Throws with mud and darkness in His face(;).

The nations making much of humanity and accusing us of hooliganism when we dare to shake off the foreign yoke, go home, within their social, spiritual and political community, just on the

truth formulated and blessed by the father of the Romanian poetry. On the laws of the natural order. On the commandments of the national ethos.(;)

The nation having yield the humanity with the insolence of a clown, at all crossroads of this Planet, has founded now a *Country*. Israel. The Jewish who didn't get tired to call Eminescu the *insane* and the *hooligan of the thinking*, applies now Eminescu's doctrine in the Palestine's land.

What shall we do? We shall listen to Mr. This or Mr. That, stammering slyly made up phrases («ce din coada au sa sune», cited from Eminescu's verses) or, we shall faithfully put our front under the stole of the big patriarch of the Romanian thinking for ever and, fearless, as our Thracian ancestors we shall carry the flags of the Romanian greatness, over persecutions and graves, to a Rarău of our holly fulfilment?"*

*Vasile Posteucă, *Destinul imperial al românilor. Dumnezeu, Neamul, Omul (The Imperial Destiny of the Romanians; God, Nation, Man)*, Publishing House *Criterion Publishing*, Norcross, GA, U.S.A., f.a., pg. 58, 59